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DATE DISTR. / 3 May 1954 25X1

NO. OF PAGES 8

NO. OF ENCLS.  
(LISTED BELOW)

SUPPLEMENT TO  
REPORT NO. 25X1

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### 3. Program and Ideology of RNB

- a. The political ideology formulated by the RNB was contained in a creed which consisted of 12 points; the program for the functioning of this organization consisted of 35 points. As a consequence, a detailed plan for the future administration of the Bulgarian nation was worked out between 1936 and 1943 by the Planning Department of RNB. Over 800 specialists took part in developing this plan. For its colors the organization adopted a banner which was dark burgundy red in color. The insignia on this pennant was called "Bagar", the ancient Bulgarian emblem which was in the form of a crossed circle. The basic principles from which the ideology and program were derived were:
- (1) Bulgaria is an ethnical, spiritual, social and territorial entity possessed of its own individuality and predestined by God not to be subjected to any individual interests.
  - (2) Unification of Bulgaria.
  - (3) Social justice is a fundamental need of the Bulgarian people and is to be realized in a non-internationalistic philosophy.
  - (4) Rule by a liberal parliamentary system.
  - (5) To say that one is a Bulgarian citizen is an assertion which has to be proved daily through deeds.
  - (6) Members must maintain integrity and honor.
  - (7) An emphasis on the Bulgarian people's relationship to God, to the Bulgarian soil, and to the idea of freedom for all -- as individuals and as members of a total Bulgarian society.
  - (8) The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the religious expression of the Bulgarian people (99 percent of the Bulgarians were members of the Orthodox Church).
  - (9) The Bulgarian king is an expression of the aspirations of the Bulgarian people. (After the death of King Boris, RNB stood for the idea of a republican form of government.)
  - (10) No professional politicians are desired as members.

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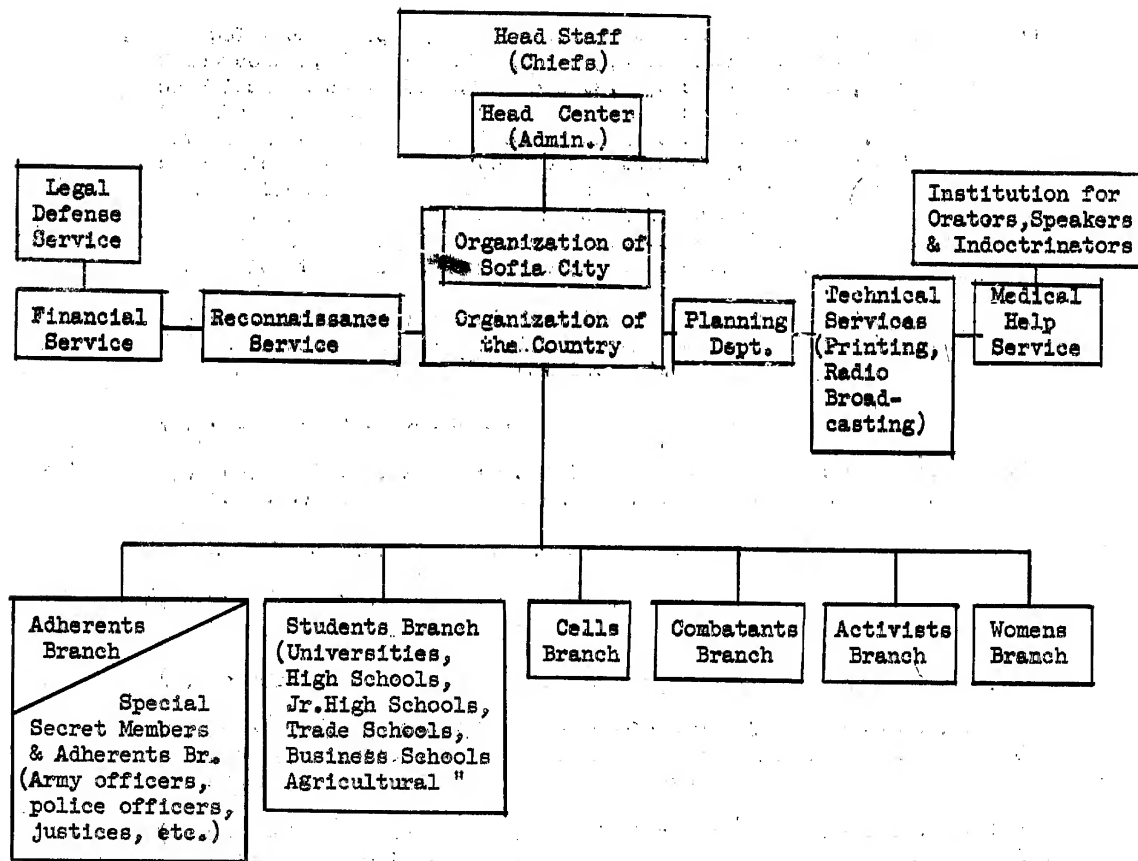
(11) Productive labor is the duty of every Bulgarian.

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#### 4. Organizational Structure of RNB

- a. The dictatorial regime of Bulgaria deprived the people of political freedom, public speech, peaceful assembly and freedom of the press. Public life was controlled and directed by the state which curtailed any political activity contrary to its own philosophy.
- b. The basic principles of the RNB organization were covertness, independence, and membership comprised of qualified and willing personnel. Within the framework of organization, the RNB compartmented its activities in order that members knew only those who were in their own units. Information was disseminated within the organization on a need-to-know basis. The diverse functions of the organization were set up on the basis of projected activities. The following scheme portrays in general the organizational structure of RNB.



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## 5. Development of RNB

- a. From 1936 to 1938 the growth of RNB was quite rapid. In fact, on three different occasions the organization refrained from recruiting and admitting new members. Reasons for its rapid propagation [ ] were the following:

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- (1) The intellectually capable leaders who originally formed the nucleus.
- (2) Sincere leadership.
- (3) A model organization in that it satisfied the political desires of the youth of Bulgaria.
- (4) The ideological and political vacuum of the country.
- (5) Inability of former political parties to analyze the prevalent political situations of the day.
- (6) The unpopularity of the authoritarian government.
- (7) An anti-Bolshevik policy.
- (8) A large quantity of well written ideological literature and sound training of its members.
- (9) Political tact on the official level.

- b. In 1938 another turning point occurred in the political life of RNB. In March of that year the "People's Movement" which was considered a conservative Bulgarian party (led by Professor A. Tsankoff), and the Communist "People's Front" undertook a strange coalition. One of the major tenets in this platform was to direct their combined assaults upon RNB. Two bloody street fights ensued in which the younger elements of RNB decisively defeated personnel of the mentioned coalition. The ruling elements of Bulgaria were surprised by the size and character of RNB. Consequently, that same year /1938/ they began to persecute this organization on the same level as they did the Communist Party. In their estimation the RNB was as dangerous to the administration as the Communist Party. As a result of these persecutions, RNB was forced to go further underground for large numbers of its members had been arrested, many had been sent to concentration camps, and several were tried by Bulgarian courts. The organizer [ ] was deported in 1938 for three months. In 1940 and 1941 he was called to police headquarters and interrogated for several hours, but in each case was released. Actually, such actions by the government made RNB more attractive and served to make it qualitatively stronger since the leaders were forced to implement operational methods which would stand up against investigation. When the organizer was tried in 1941, the leaders of previously dissolved democratic parties provided funds necessary to employ an honorary legal defender. Members of these parties eventually joined the RNB.

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- c. Although RNB was bitterly opposed to Communism and preferred to see Germany defeat the USSR during World War II, it was not a Fascist organization although the opposition branded it as such. Since the characteristics of Nazism were anti-monarchist, anti-religious, and anti-Masonic, its political philosophy was diametrically opposed to the principles of the RNB. This organization was:

- (1) first, pro-monarchistic and later pro-republican.
- (2) pro-God and Pro-Mason. /Many of its members were officials in the Bulgarian Masonic Grand Lodge./

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It obviously was not a Fascist movement. However, Bolshevik propagandists and some misguided nationalists after World War II referred to it as a Fascistic organization.

#### 6. Submersion of RNB

- a. When World War II broke out in Europe, the leaders of RNB decided that during this war they would not strive towards the eventual overthrow of dictatorial rule. They did decide, however, to continue in the fight against the Bulgarian Communist Party, to influence the government through public criticism, to take advantage of the people's discontent concerning World War II, but meanwhile to bide their time until the war ended.
- b. In August 1942, when the king passed away and the Bulgarian political situation became extremely confused, the leader of RNB invited three Bulgarian organizations to merge with the RNB. In this effort he was successful for BRANNIK, a state youth organization which members of RNB had infiltrated, accepted the invitation. Alliance of the Bulgarian Youth Legions, a semi-Fascistic organization, affiliated, as did the Bulgarian Youth Alliance previously mentioned. Shortly after the death of the king, all three of these organizations declared that they were aligning themselves with and accepting the philosophy of the Youth Movement, RNB.
- c. By virtue of the juncture of the three youth groups, the bulk of the young political life of Bulgaria appeared to finally have been united. By mid 1942 Communist activity had been considerably curtailed by the government and it was forced to go further underground. The fight against Communism in Bulgaria, however, continued. On 9 September 1945 the President of Red Bulgaria, the former well known Secretary of the Third International, Georgi Dimitroff, disclosed in his speech at the National Theater in Sofia that the Bulgarian Communist Party, as of 9 September 1945, contained no more than 3500 members.
- d. In November 1942, shortly after the various youth movements of Bulgaria seemed to have reached a point of understanding and departure, the Stalingrad offensive was launched. This offensive, as history reveals, began on 18 November 1942 and its results culminated in success for the Soviet Union. Once it was realized by the leaders of RNB that Soviet forces could not be contained by the German Army, their party and their movement stood in jeopardy and when the Soviet Army entered Bulgaria. Consequently, it was decided by ranking officers to submerge the RNB and disperse throughout Bulgaria its various members. Under instructions in 1943 and 1944, members of the town and village formations were ordered to quarrel publicly, to refrain from further activity, no longer to associate with each other, and in some cases to condemn the RNB as a stupid unnecessary organization. It was difficult to convince the more active members of RNB that the actions described above were necessary not only to save the members, but the organization itself. Through the dispersal of adherents, only the most exposed members remained on duty.
- e. In March 1944 [ ] dropped leaflets over Sofia praising the RNB for its political attitude. Five thousand of the more mature members were called together in Sofia where they were armed and prepared to join with the [ ] forces somewhere in the south. Such a meeting, of course, did not materialize. In August 1944 the archives of RNB were destroyed. The most exposed leaders were ordered to leave Bulgaria because the Communist forces were by that time about to enter the country. A number fled to Austria where they took part in the Bulgarian exile government, hoping that they could soon join [ ] forces and return to their country.

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## 7. The RNB Behind the Iron Curtain.

- a. In my estimation, the RNB is the only organization in the Balkans which still carries in mind the eventual overthrow of Bolshevism. In last minute preparations the RNB was instructed to lose its identity and refrain from any activity. This does not mean that this unit has ceased to exist. Its leaders instructed the membership not to take part in any opposition movements or to provoke the new Communist government of Bulgaria for it was felt that such actions would be tactless and would ultimately prove destructive. The RNB is still alive and is confident its day will come. Correspondence received from Bulgaria in 1953 indicates that the members anticipate the day when they can be successfully utilized. In 1952 Stefan Yovena, one of the Bulgarians associated with Radio Free Europe in Munich, mentioned the RNB organization during a broadcast. Word came indirectly from Bulgaria in which it was intimated that if Bulgarians outside the country could not stop this individual from mentioning their organization, they would. Further statements from Bulgaria revealed the attitude of members of RNB who felt that Yovena, "for a damned salary", was jeopardizing the future of their organization.
- b. The old political parties of Bulgaria were dissolved and paralyzed by May 1934. The average age of these members at that time was 38 years. Statistically, many of them are dead and others are too old to be of use in any contemplated resistance. The political groups such as the Radicals, Social Democrats, Agrarians and Zveno which formed a coalition between 1944 and 1948, have suffered considerable loss from reprisal by the existing government and through the death of leaders who were beyond middle age during World War II.
- c. To place our faith in the former Bulgarian Agrarian Party is, [redacted] a fundamental mistake because it was a class party which was repudiated by practically all of the anti-Communists in Bulgaria -- even pro-Communist cultured Bulgarians denounced this party. Universal history does not point up a single case in which the peasant class ruled a European country, but reveals peasant revolts always culminated in eventual suppression. It must also be borne in mind that the Bulgarian peasant class which constituted in pre-Communist time 78 percent of the population, today [1954] represents about 50 percent of Bulgaria's total population. It must also be borne in mind that the peasant youth in the majority of Bulgarian villages is nowadays [1954] attracted by Communism, not only because of indoctrination, but also because such youth has received more attractive employment and actually feels that it has profited economically from the new order.
- d. In 1944 the average age of the youth in the aforementioned movements was approximately 23 years. Accordingly, now [1954] the majority of this segment of the Bulgarian population should approximate 33 years in age. [redacted] this stratum of Bulgarian society is the only logical one upon which a future for Bulgaria could be planned. The creed mentioned on page three, in my estimation, is an excellent point of departure, for it attracts not only members of the RNB but the army, police, clergy, teachers and laborers.

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## 8. RNB and the Future

- a. With reference to the possibility of military conflict in the future, a question arises as to what moment would be most opportune for RNB to engage in effective resistance. In my estimation, no active resistance should be expected until Western armed forces contemplate making entry into Bulgaria.
- b. Regarding the eventual liberation of Bulgaria, another question arises -- should RNB take active part in Bulgarian governmental affairs at the earliest possible moment? [redacted]

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(1) It is well known that any person or party which rules a country during the first several years of so-called liberty would place itself in a position of jeopardy and attack from all quarters.

(2) The RNB would need a couple of years to reorganize and reorient itself.

c. The institution of a new government in Bulgaria should depend on a prearranged plan on the part of [ ] its allies. Factors which they should consider regarding the institution of a new form of government replacing Communism are:

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(1) Monarchy or republic, with or without the constitution of Tarnovo.

(2) Monarchy or republic, with or without Doctor G.M. Dimitrov whose real aims are bitterly disputed and not understood in Bulgaria.

(3) Recognition of the social needs of Bulgaria.

(4) Whether or not to utilize [ ] forces for occupation -- in my estimation, such action would meet with dire consequences for the Bulgarian population has absolutely no respect [ ] because of historical conflict for many centuries.

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